

ACTION



AMEMBASSY PARIS

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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FM AMCONSUL ZURICH

TO RUEHC/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 364

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ZURICH 2547.

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US DEL SECRETARY IN ZURICH

SECSTATE FOR S/PRS AND EUR/CE: DEPARTMENT PASS NSC FOR MR. SCOWCROFT AND WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. NESSEN; USIA FOR IOP/M; IPS; IRS; IEU; BONN FOR KLIEFORTH

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: TEXT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PRESS CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 6, 1976.

FOLLOWING IS UNCLEARED TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SEPTEMBER 6 PRESS CONFERENCE IN ZURICH. NOT, REPEAT NOT, TO BE RELEASED UNTIL CLEARED BY MR. EAGLEBURGER.

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PRESS CONFERENCE, GRAND HOTEL DOLDER, SEPTEMBER 6, 1976.

SECRETARY: FIRST OF ALL I WANT TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION TO MR. EAGLEBURGER FOR LETTING ME GET SOME WORDS IN BEFORE THE PRESS. HE HAS DONE A DISTINGUISHED JOB IN THE LAST FEW DAYS. HE HAS GOTTEN HIS NAME TOO FREQUENTLY INTO THE NEWSPAPERS BUT WE WILL TAKE CARE OF THAT LATER.

(LAUGHTER)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, LET ME EXPLAIN FIRST WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO. SECONDLY, THE EVOLUTION OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THIRD, THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS THAT HAVE TO BE RECONCILED IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. AND THEN I WILL TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS. THE UNITED STATES IS MAKING AN EFFORT TO BRING AN END TO THE MOUNTING CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE UNITED STATES IS CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT AN ESCALATING GUERRILLA WAR IS ALREADY TAKING PLACE IN RHODESIA, THAT CONDITIONS IN NAMIBIA WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO A SIMILAR CRISIS. AND, OF COURSE, WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE UNITED STATES IS MAKING A SERIOUS EFFORT IN ORDER TO SEE WHETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE THE FOLLOWING OBJECTIVES: MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY RIGHTS; A PEACEFUL END TO THE DISAGREEMENT; AND NEGOTIATION THAT ENABLES ALL OF THE COMMUNITIES TO LIVE SIDE BY SIDE UNDER CONDITIONS OF DIGNITY AND PROGRESS. WE DO SO IN THE INTEREST OF WORLD PEACE, BECAUSE CONTINUING CONFLICT IN

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RHODESIAN FOUR BLACK STATES BORDERING RHODESIA. THREE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS, RHODESIAN WHITE AUTHORITIES THAT ARE NOT RECOGNIZED BY EITHER THE UNITED STATES OR THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND SOUTH AFRICA WHICH DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES AS A GOVERNMENT, AND WHICH HAS GIVEN SUPPORT TO IT IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. IN OTHER WORDS, WE ARE DEALING WITH TWO DIFFERENT PROBLEMS, FIVE STATES, FOUR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN BLACK AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA, PLUS THE AUTHORITIES OF RHODESIA AND THE AUTHORITIES WITHIN NAMIBIA. NEVERTHELESS, WITH ALL OF THESE COMPLEXITIES, AND WHILE WE MUST EXPECT UPS AND DOWNS, I BELIEVE THAT CONDITIONS FOR A NEGOTIATION EXIST ON BOTH ISSUES. THE UNITED STATES WILL WORK FOR THE OBJECTIVES THAT I HAVE DESCRIBED. THE UNITED STATES IS OPPOSED TO VIOLENCE AND THE UNITED STATES IS OPPOSED TO OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. THE UNITED STATES DOES BELIEVE THAT THE OBJECTIVES OF MAJORITY RULE, MINORITY RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE AREA ARE ATTAINABLE WITH PATIENCE, WITH GOOD WILL AND WITH DEDICATION. AND THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TOGETHER WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM TO OFFER ITS GOOD OFFICES IN THE ATTAINMENT OF THESE OBJECTIVES. AND NOW I'LL BE GLAD TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

A. MR. SECRETARY, CAN YOU SAY WHETHER YOU MADE ANY PROGRESS HERE TOWARDS SETTING UP A NEGOTIATION FRAMEWORK FOR RESOLVING THE NAMIBIA QUESTION?

S. I WOULD LIKE TO SAY BEFORE I ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS THAT I HOPE YOU LADIES AND GENTLEMEN WILL UNDERSTAND THAT AT A TIME BEFORE WE HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO INFORM THE LEADERS OF BLACK AFRICA OF THE DETAILS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, SOMETHING WHICH WE WILL DO IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT I CANNOT GO INTO DETAILS ON MANY OF THE QUESTIONS THAT YOU MAY ASK ME. I BELIEVE ... JUST A MINUTE, I HAVEN'T ANSWERED HIM YET... I BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARDS SETTING UP A NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK BUT, OF COURSE, WE WILL HAVE TO AWAIT ALSO THE REACTION.... IN NAMIBIA, THE REACTION OF OTHER LEADERS.

YES, SIR!

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DID PRIME MINISTER VORSTER SHOW ANY SIGNS OF A WILLINGNESS TO RECOGNIZE SWAPO IN NAMIBIA?

S. WELL, THE UNITED STATES HAS STATED THAT IT FAVORS THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL GROUPS IN NEGOTIATIONS AND CLEARLY WE INCLUDE SWAPO IN THIS. IT IS, OF COURSE, UP TO THE PRIME MINISTER TO SPEAK FOR HIS POSITION. BUT IT IS OUR VIEW THAT A NEGOTIATING PROCESS WILL HAVE TO INCLUDE SUCH GROUPS AS SWAPO.

Q. SIR, DO YOU ENVISAGE THE POSSIBILITY OF YOUR MEETING WITH MR. SMITH?

S. I HAVE NO PRESENT PLANS TO MEET WITH MR. SMITH AND THIS WOULD DEPEND ENTIRELY ON ASSURANCE THAT A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL OCCUR. BUT AT THIS MOMENT THERE ARE NO PLANS TO MEET WITH MR. SMITH AND THERE ARE NO... IT WOULD BE TOTALLY PREMATURE TO SPECULATE ON IT.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, COULD YOU TELL US IF YOU HAD ANY COMMUNICATION WITH THE LEADERS MEETING IN DAR ES SALAAM AND WHAT YOUR PLANS ARE REGARDING YOUR TRIP TO AFRICA?

S. THERE HAS BEEN A MEETING OF THE LEADERS IN DAR ES SALAAM WHICH ONLY BEGAN A FEW HOURS AGO. WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH OVER THE WEEKEND WITH SOME OF THE LEADERS BUT THAT WAS PRIOR

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OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE LEADERS OF BLACK AFRICA. OF COURSE, THOSE THAT ARE THEN ACCEPTED BY SOUTH AFRICA WOULD TEND TO CREATE A CONSENSUS. AND IN ANY NEGOTIATION A POINT MUST BE REACHED WHERE ALL PARTIES AGREE, IF THEY ARE TO SUCCEED. BUT THE PROPOSALS WE HAVE PUT FORWARD HAD BEEN DEVELOPED FIRST IN CONSULTATION WITH THE LEADERS OF AFRICA, AND ARE NOW BEING DISCUSSED WITH LEADERS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Q. IN CASE THAT THE AFRICAN SUMMIT IN TANZANIA DECIDES ON BLACK RULE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, WHAT WILL BE YOUR NEXT STEP?

S. I DON'T WANT TO SPECULATE ON DECISIONS THAT THE SUMMIT IN DAR ES SALAAM MAY MAKE. IF IT RECOMMENDS A MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY INDICATED ITS SUPPORT FOR IT. THE ISSUE IS NOT WHAT IS THE OBJECTIVE BUT HOW IT IS TO BE ACHIEVED. ONE, BY WHAT NEGOTIATING PROCEDURE, AND SECOND, UNDER WHAT CONCRETE CONDITIONS. AND THERE WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO SHAPE THE PROPOSALS WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM AFRICA AND THE VIEWS WE HAVE HEARD FROM SOUTH AFRICA INTO THE PROGRAM WHICH WE HOPE WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL OF THE PARTIES. BUT, OF COURSE, THE SOLUTION CAN ONLY COME BY THE AGREEMENT OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED, AND NOT BY AN IMPOSITION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Q. DOES YOUR PROGRAM THAT YOU ARE DRAWING UP INVOLVE CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL AS NAMIBIA?

S. THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS AT THIS MOMENT CONCERN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. THE UNITED STATES HAS STATED ITS VIEW WITH RESPECT TO SOUTH AFRICA LAST WEEK AND HAS HAD A RESPONSE FROM SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL.

Q. DOES SOUTH AFRICA ... (INAUDIBLE)

S. NO, IT HAS BEEN PUBLICLY STATED. AND I AM CERTAIN THAT THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA WILL SPEAK FOR HIMSELF WHEN HE MEETS THE PRESS.

Q. HAS SOUTH AFRICA AGREED TO HELP FINANCE ANY GUARANTEE PROGRAM IN RHODESIA?

S. THERE HAS BEEN AN EXTRAORDINARY AMOUNT OF SPECULATION ABOUT THIS SO-CALLED GUARANTEES PROGRAM. OUR CONCERN IS NOT SIMPLY TO DEAL WITH THE MINORITY -- WITH THE WHITE MINORITY IN RHODESIA: OUR CONCERN IS AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM THAT BRINGS ABOUT THE ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT OF ALL OF RHODESIA, AND WITHIN THAT CONTEXT TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL RACES AND ALL COMMUNITIES TO LIVE SIDE BY SIDE WITH SOME SECURITY AND WITH SOME ASSURANCES AGAINST RAPID CHANGES IN THEIR POSITION. THIS PROGRAM IS STILL IN A STATE OF EVOLUTION AND ITS DETAILS WILL HAVE TO AWAIT THE PRECISE DISCUSSIONS THOUGH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THESE AND PREVIOUS TALKS.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, IT HAS BEEN REPORTED THIS MORNING ON THE RADIO THAT IF THE DAR ES SALAAM PEOPLE TAKE THE RESULTS OF YOUR TALKS QUITE WELL, IT IS THOUGHT THAT THERE MAY BE A NAMIBIA CONFERENCE IN GENEVA QUITE SHORTLY, BY THE BEGINNING OF OCTOBER, SAY.

S. I DON'T WANT TO GO INTO SPECIFICS OVER NEGOTIATIONS THAT IS NOW STILL GOING ON. BUT OBVIOUSLY IF INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA IS TO BE ACHIEVED THERE WILL HAVE TO BE A CONFERENCE. THERE HAS TO BE A LOCATION, AND THERE WILL HAVE TO BE AN AGREEMENT AS TO PARTICIPANTS. AND YOU CAN SAFELY ASSUME THAT THIS IS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS WE ARE DISCUSSING RIGHT NOW.

(LAUGHTER)

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Q. MR. SECRETARY, HOW (INAUDIBLE) WILL THE UNITED NATIONS COME INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS?

S. WELL, THE UNITED NATIONS HAS, OF COURSE, A ROLE IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA WHICH SOME OF ITS REPRESENTATIVES CARRY OUT VERY VOCALLY. THERE WILL BE A ROLE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS AND THIS IS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS THAT IS NOW UNDER DISCUSSION. BUT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS A ROLE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. I'LL TAKE ONE MORE QUESTION.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, HOW MUCH FURTHER DO YOU THINK YOUR NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT RHODESIA CAN GO ON WITHOUT CONTACT OR REFERENCE TO WHAT IS THE DE-FACTO GOVERNMENT?

S. WELL, SOMEBODY WILL HAVE TO BE IN CONTACT WITH THE AUTHORITIES IN SALISBURY, AND I BELIEVE THAT THOSE POSSIBILITIES OF CONTACT EXIST BUT IT DOESN'T NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE THE UNITED STATES AT THIS STAGE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

NESLEN

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